

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-10 CIAE-00 PM-03 INR-07 L-02 ACDA-05

NSAE-00 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 USIA-06 TRSE-00 SAJ-01

ISO-00 H-02 NSC-05 EB-07 ERDA-05 NRC-05 /075 W

----- 005728

P R 121045Z APR 75

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1157

INFO SECDEF WASHDC

ALL NATO CAPITALS 5216

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T USNATO 2011

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y - END OF TEXT PARAGRAPH 4. ADDED

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM, NATO

SUBJECT: POLADS TO DISCUSS NFZ AND NEGATIVE ASSURANCES

REF: USNATO 1958

GENEVA PASS CCD

1. DURING APRIL 11 POLADS, CHAIRMAN (KASTL) SAID THAT THE NATO DISARMAMENT EXPERTS MEETING ON APRIL 8 AND 9 (REFTEL) HAD STRESSED THE THOUGHT THAT NUCLEAR FREE ZONES (NFZ) AND THE QUESTION OF GUARANTEES BY THE NUCLEAR POWERS WOULD BE AT THE CENTER OF THE FORTHCOMING NON-PROLIFERATION TREATY (NPT) REVIEW CONFERENCE). THE NETHERLANDS HAD SUBSEQUENTLY REQUESTED THAT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE MAKE A THOROUGH EXAMINATION OF NFZ AND "NEGATIVE ASSURANCES

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AND THE IMPLICATIONS OF THESE ISSUES FOR NATO, IN THE HOPE OF DEVELOPING A COMMON ALLIED POSITION, THE CHAIRMAN POINTED OUT THAT SINCE THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE STARTS MAY 5, THERE MAY NOT BE SUFFICIENT TIME TO PREPARE A FINAL POLADS STUDY. HOWEVER,

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SINCE THESE TOPICS ARE LIKELY TO REMAIN CENTRAL IN CONSIDERATIONS EVEN AFTER THE NPT REVIEW, ANY LATER POLADS STUDY MIGHT STILL BE VALID. THEREFORE, HE PLANNED TO SCHEDULE AN ORAL EXCHANGE ON THE ISSUE FOR THE APRIL 15 POLADS. HE DEFERRED TO THE NETHERLANDS

REP FOR FURTHER EXPLANATION.

2. NETHERLANDS REP (HORAK) EXPLAINED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES BELIEVED THE NPT WOULD BE MADE MORE ATTRACTIVE IF THE NUCLEAR POWERS COULD MAKE NEGATIVE GUARANTEES TO THE NON-NUCLEAR STATES. THE NETHERLANDS BELIEVES SOME NON-NUCLEAR STATES MAY RAISE THE ISSUE OF NFZ AND "NEGATIVE ASSURANCES" AT THE NPT REVIEW. THEREFORE, THEY BELIEVE THE ALLIES MUST BEGIN AN IMMEDIATE EXAMINATION OF THESE ISSUES AT NATO TO AVOID A LAST-MINUTE CONFRONTATION. THIS EXAMINATION COULD BE TRANSFERRED TO A NATO CAUCUS AT THE CCD AFTER MAY 5; HOWEVER, THE DUTCH ARE INCLINED TO THINK THE PROBLEM WILL GO BEYOND THAT CONFERENCE.

3. THE NETHERLANDS REP SAID THERE ARE THREE IMPORTANT FACTORS THAT MUST BE CONSIDERED IN ANY NATO EXAMINATION OF THE SUBJECT:

A. THE NON-NUCLEAR STATES HAVE LEGITIMATE SECURITY REQUIREMENTS THAT DESERVE CONSIDERATION.

B. NFZ AND DEMANDS FOR "NEGATIVE ASSURANCES" POSE PROBLEMS FOR NATO STRATEGY SINCE THIS STRATEGY IMPLIES THE POSSIBLE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR STATES, I. E., THE EASTERN EUROPEANS.

C. ONE OF THE THREE NUCLEAR ALLIES (THE UNITED STATES) HAS SECURITY OBLIGATIONS THAT ARE WORLD-WIDE, BEYOND THE NATO AREA, THEREFORE, ANY FORMULA THAT IS DEvised CANNOT BE RESTRICTED TO JUST NATO OR EUROPE.

4. TURKISH REP (ERALP) QUESTIONED THE VALUE OF POLADS UNDERTAKING EXAMINATION OF NFZ AND "NEGATIVE ASSURANCES." HE DID NOT BELIEVE THE POLADS HAVE THE REQUISITE EXPERTISE TO PRODUCE ANY MEANINGFUL STUDY, ESPECIALLY SINCE THE RECENT DISARMAMENT EXPERTS MEETING HAD APPARENTLY ALSO FAILED TO ACCOMPLISH THIS. THE CHAIRMAN SUGGESTED THAT POLADS WERE SELDOM RESTRICTED BY LACK OF RESIDENT EXPERTISE SINCE THEY RELIED ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM CAPITALS IN MOST CASES.

5. THE NETHERLANDS REP AGREED THAT NFZ AND NEGATIVE ASSURANCES
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POSE A DIFFICULT PROBLEM HE FELT. HOWEVER, THAT IT IS A POLITICAL QUESTION, NOT A TECHNICAL QUESTION.

6. FRG REP (CITRON) SAID HIS AUTHORITIES AGREE THAT THE DUTCH PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY HAS MERIT. THEY HAD HOPED, HOWEVER, THAT THE NETHERLANDS WOULD PRODUCE A FIRST DRAFT ON THE ISSUES WHICH WOULD PROVIDE A STARTING PLACE FOR POLADS' CONSIDERATION. THE NETHERLANDS REP REPLIED THAT HIS AUTHORITIES DO NOT FEEL THE HAGUE SHOULD MAKE A FIRST PROPOSAL SINCE THE NETHERLANDS IS ITSELF A NON-NUCLEAR STATE. THE HAGUE WOULD RATHER HAVE AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON THE FOUR FORMULATIONS PRESENTLY UNDER CONSIDERATION (THE NETHERLANDS REP LATER ASKED THE IS TO DISTRIBUTE THE FOLLOWING EXPLANATION OF THESE FOUR FORMULATIONS:)

BEGIN TEXT:

DURING THE LAST DISARMAMENT EXPERTS MEETING WHICH TOOK PLACE IN NATO HEADQUARTERS ON 8TH AND 9TH APRIL, 1975, THE POINT WAS RAISED THAT GIVEN THE DIFFICULTIES OF ARRIVING AT MORE BINDING POSITIVE ASSURANCES, IT CAN BE EXPECTED THAT ATTENTION AT THE NPT REVIEW CONFERENCE WILL FOCUS ON NEGATIVE ASSURANCES I.E. NON-USE UNDERTAKINGS.

(THESE HAVE ALREADY BEEN DISCUSSED DURING THE 1967/68 EIGHTEEN NATIONS DISARMAMENT COMMITTEE, BUT WERE SHIED AWAY FROM AT THAT TIME BY THE NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES).

ON THE 11TH APRIL AT THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE. THE DUTCH REPRESENTATIVE REFERRED TO FOUR FORMULAS WHICH EMERGED FROM THE ABOVE MENTIONED 1967/68 NEGOTIATIONS, FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE POLITICAL COMMITTEE, THESE ARE LISTED BELOW:

1. THE BROAD ASSURANCE FORMULA. NO WEAPON STATE SHOULD USE OR THREATEN TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST ANY NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES UNDER ANY CIRCUMSTANCES.
2. THE SO-CALLED KOSYGIN FORMULA. THIS FORMULA DID NOT EXTEND THE NON-USE UNDERTAKINGS TO NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES WHICH HAD NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATIONED IN THEIR TERRITORIES.

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3. THE CANADIAN FORMULA (GENERAL BURNS) TTIED TO RECONCILE THE NATO AND WPHVONCERNS. UNDER THIS FORMULA IT WAS SUGGESTED THAT NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES UNDERTOOK NOT TO USE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AGAINST NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES NOT ALLIED WITH A NUCLEAR POWER.

4. EXTENDED CANADIAN FORMULA PROPOSED BY SOME WESTERN WRITERS. (ASTERIX) IN THE LIGHT OF NATO STRATEGY, THIS FORMULA SUGGESTED THE NON-USE PLEDGE MADE EXCEPTION IN CASES OF CONFLICT EMBARKED UPON BY NON-NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES FORMALLY ALLIED TO NUCLEAR WEAPON STATES IF THE LATTER UNDERTOOK TO SUPPORT MILITARY ACTION (WHETHER OR NOT THIS INVOLVED NUCLEAR ACTION).

(ASTERIX) (THE NETHERLANDS REP IDENTIFIED THIS FORMULATION AS COMING FROM THE INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE OF STRATEGIC STUDIES IN LONDON.)

7. THE CHAIRMAN URGED THE NETHERLANDS REP TO CONSIDER PREPARING A DRAFT PROPOSAL WHICH HE FELT WOULD PROMOTE THE DUTCH CASE.
8. THE DANISH REP (VILLADSEN) WAS PERSONALLY SURE HIS AUTHORITIES WOULD SUPPORT THE DUTCH PROPOSAL IN VIEW OF CURRENT DANISH INTEREST

IN NFZ ISSUES, SUCH AS KEKKONEN PLAN.

9. ACTION REQUESTED: REQUEST GUIDANCE ON THE POSITION WE SHOULD
ADOPT AT THE NEXT POLADS SESSION ON APRIL 15.
BRUCE

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<< END OF DOCUMENT >>

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 18 AUG 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 APR 1975
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: GolinoFR
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1975NATO02011
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1975/newtext/t197504101/abbrzjik.tel
Line Count: 170
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: USNATO 1958
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: GolinoFR
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 07 APR 2003
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <07 APR 2003 by GarlanWA>; APPROVED <08 APR 2003 by GolinoFR>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
05 JUL 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: POLADS TO DISCUSS NFZ AND NEGATIVE ASSURANCES
TAGS: PARM, NATO
To: STATE INFO SECDEF
ALL NATO CAPITALS
MBFR VIENNA
GENEVA
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 05 JUL 2006

